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Grattan — Speeches in the Irish Parliament
in 1780 and 1782

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from Henry Grattan to his beloved Son

SPEECHES

OF THE LATE

RT. HON. HENRY GRATTAN,

IN THE

IRISH PARLIAMENT,

IN 1780 AND 1782.

Never before published.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following Speeches were revised, and were left by Mr. Grattan, and it was his wish that they should be published. They are accordingly published, and as he left them.

The proceedings in the English and in the Irish Houses of Parliament, on the question to which they relate, are added, and are placed in the Appendix.

These Speeches may be interesting in England: they ought to be so in Ireland; for they may be said to contain a history of that political revolution which they mainly contributed to accomplish, and which produced a moral revolution in the country, in many respects similar to that of 1688. It formed the principal event of his life, the most creditable to his fame, the most important to Ireland. Of her previous condi-

tion, it is unnecessary to speak ; of that which followed, I must be permitted to say, that his exertions, and her spirit at that time, secured to her the invaluable benefit of an independent resident legislature ; that her Gentry acquired influence and power, her Nobility consequence and privileges ; that their attention and their interests were confined to their country, and were more exclusively Irish ; and there existed throughout Ireland much public feeling and great zeal on public questions,—the effect of that liberty and of that independence, which it was the fortune of her Parliament to obtain at one period by the Declaration of her Rights, and to surrender at another by the measure of the Union.

JAMES GRATTAN.

*London,
May 24th.*

SPEECHES, &c.

[The Speech which introduced the Declaration of Right—
Spoken the 19th of April, 1780.]

I HAVE intreated an attendance on this day, that you might, in the most public manner, deny the claim of the British Parliament to make law for Ireland, and with one voice lift up your hands against it.

If I had lived when the 9th of William took away the woollen manufacture, or when the 6th of George the First took away your Constitution, I should have made a covenant with my own conscience, to seize the first reasonable moment of rescuing my country from the ignominy of such acts of power; or if I had had a son, I should have administered to him an oath, that he would consider himself as a person separate and set apart for the discharge of so important a duty.

Upon the same principle am I now come, to move a Declaration of Right, the first moment, occurring

in my time, in which such a declaration could be made with any chance of success, and without an aggravation of oppression.

Sir, it must appear to every person, that, notwithstanding the import of sugar, and export of woollens, the people of this country are not satisfied; something remains—the greater work is behind—the public heart is not well at ease. To promulgate our satisfaction, to stop the throats of millions with the Votes of Parliament, to preach homilies to the volunteers, to utter invectives against the people under pretence of affectionate advice, is an attempt, weak, suspicious and inflammatory.

You cannot dictate to those whose sense you are instructed to represent.

Your ancestors who sat within these walls, lost to Ireland trade and liberty; you, by the assistance of the people, have recovered trade. You owe the kingdom a constitution; she calls upon you to restore it.

The ground of public discontent seems to be, “We have gotten commerce, but not freedom.”

The same power which took away the export of woollen, the export of glass, may take them away again. The repeal is partial; and the ground of repeal, is a principle of expediency.

Sir, expedient is a word of appropriated and tyrannical import—expedient is a word selected to express the reservation of authority, while the exer-

cise is mitigated—expedient is the ill-omened expression of the repeal of the American Stamp Act.

England thought it expedient to repeal that law : happy had it been for mankind, if, when she withdrew the exercise, she had not reserved the right : to that reservation she owes the loss of her American empire, at the expense of millions ; and America the seeking of liberty through a scene of bloodshed. The repeal of the Woollen Act, similarly circumstanced, pointed against the principle of our liberty, may be a subject for illumination to a populace, or a pretence for apostacy to a courtier, but cannot be a subject of settled satisfaction to a free born, an intelligent, and an injured community.

It is, therefore, they consider the free trade as a trade *de facto*, not *de jure*—a licence to trade under the Parliament of England, not a free trade under the charter of Ireland—a tribute to her strength, to maintain which, she must continue in a state of armed preparation, dreading the approach of a general peace, and attributing all she holds dear, to the calamitous condition of the British interest in every quarter of the globe. This dissatisfaction, founded upon a consideration of the liberty we have lost, is increased, when they consider the opportunity they are losing ; for if this nation, after the death-wound given to her freedom, had fallen on her knees in anguish, and besought the Almighty to frame an occasion in which a weak and injured

people might recover their rights, prayer could not have asked, nor God have formed, a moment more opportune for the restoration of liberty, than this in which I have the honour to address you.

England now smarts under the lesson of the American war. The doctrine of imperial legislature she feels to be pernicious—the revenues and monopolies annexed to it, she found to be untenable. Her enemies are a host pouring upon her from all quarters of the earth—her armies are dispersed—the sea is not her's—she has no minister, no ally, no admiral, none in whom she long confides, and no general whom she has not disgraced. The balance of her fate is in the hands of Ireland. You are not only her last connexion—you are the only nation in Europe, that is not her enemy; besides, there does, of late, a certain damp and supineness overcast her arms and councils, miraculous as that vigor which has lately inspirited yours. With you every thing is the reverse. Never was there a parliament in Ireland so possessed of the confidence of the people. You are now the greatest political assembly in the world—you are at the head of an immense army; nor do we only possess an unconquerable force, but a certain unquenchable fire, which has touched all ranks of men like a visitation. Turn to the growth and spring of your country, and behold and admire it!

Where do you find a nation who, upon whatever

concerns the rights of mankind, expresses herself with more truth or force, perspicuity or justice—not the set phrases of the scholiast, not the tame unreality of the courtier, not the vulgar raving of the rabble, but the genuine speech of liberty, and the unsophisticated oratory of a free nation. See her military ardour expressed, not in 40,000 men conducted by instinct as they were raised by inspiration, but manifested in the zeal and promptitude of every young member of the growing community. Let corruption tremble! let the enemy, foreign or domestic, tremble! but let the friends of liberty rejoice at these means of safety, and this hour of redemption, an enlightened sense of public right, a young appetite for freedom, a solid strength, and a rapid fire, which not only put a declaration of right within your power, but put it out of your power to decline one! Eighteen counties are at your bar; there they stand, with the compact of Henry, with the charter of John, and with all the passions of the people! Our lives are at your service; but our liberties, we received them from God: we will not resign them to man! Speaking to you thus, if you repulse these petitioners, you abdicate the office of Parliament, you forfeit the rights of the kingdom, you repudiate the instruction of your constituent, you belie the sense of your country, you palsy the enthusiasm of the people, and you reject that good which not a Minister, no a Lord North, not a Lord Bucking-

hamshire, not a Lord Hillsborough, but a certain providential conjuncture, or rather the hand of God, seems to extend to you.

I read Lord North's propositions, and I wish to be satisfied; but I am controlled by a paper (for I will not call it a law); it is the 6th George First, [The paper was read].

I will ask the gentlemen of the long robe, is this the law? I ask them whether it is not the practice? I appeal to the judges of the land, whether they are not in a course of declaring, that the Parliament of England naming Ireland, binds her? I appeal to the magistrates of Ireland, whether they do not, from time to time, execute certain acts of the British Parliament? I appeal to the officers of the army, whether they do not confine and execute their fellow-subjects by virtue of the Mutiny Act of England? And I appeal to this House whether a country so circumstanced, is free? Where is the freedom of trade? where is the security of property? where the liberty of the people? I here, in this Declaratory Act, see my country proclaimed a slave! I see every man in this House enrolled a bondman! I see the judges of the realm, the oracles of the law, borne down by an unauthorized power! I see the magistrates prostrate; and I see Parliament witness to these infringements, and silent! I therefore say, with the voice of 3,000,000 of people, that notwithstanding the import of sugar, and export of woollen and

kerseys, beetle-wood and prunellas, nothing is safe, satisfactory, or honourable; nothing, except a Declaration of Right! What! are you, with 3,000,000 of men at your back, with charters in one hand and arms in the other, afraid to say, we are a free people? Are you, the greatest House of Commons that ever sat in Ireland, that want but this one act to equal that English House of Commons that passed the Petition of Right, or that other, that passed the Declaration—are you, are you afraid to tell the British Parliament you are a free people? Are the cities and the instructing counties, who have breathed a spirit that would have done honour to old Rome, when Rome did honour to mankind—are they to be free by connivance? Are the military associations—those bodies whose origin, progress, and deportment, have transcended, equalled at least, any thing in modern or ancient story, in the vast line of Northern army—are they to be free by connivance? What man will settle among you? Who will leave a land of liberty and a settled government, for a kingdom controlled by the parliament of another country, whose liberty is a thing by stealth, whose trade a thing by permission, whose judges deny her charters, whose Parliament leaves every thing at random, where the hope of freedom depends on the chance, that the jury shall despise the judge stating a British act, or a rabble stop the magistrate in the execution of it, rescue your abdicated privi-

leges by anarchy and confusion, and save the constitution by trampling on the government ?

But I shall be told that these are groundless jealousies, and that the principal cities, and more than one half of the counties of the kingdom, are misguided men, raising those groundless jealousies. Sir, they may say so, and they may hope to dazzle with the illumination, and they may sicken with addresses ; but the public imagination will never rest, nor will her heart be well at ease : never, so long as the Parliament of England claims or exercises legislation over this country—so long as this shall be the case that very free trade (otherwise a perpetual attachment), will be the cause of new discontent ; it will create a pride and wealth, to make you feel your indignities ; it will furnish you with a strength to bite your chain : the liberty withheld, poisons the good communicated. The British minister mistakes the Irish character. Had he intended to make Ireland a slave, he should have kept her a beggar : there is no middle policy—win her heart by a restoration of her right, or cut off the nation's right-hand—greatly emancipate, or fundamentally destroy ! We may talk plausibly to England ; but so long as she exercises a power to bind this country, so long are the nations in a state of war—the claims of the one go against the liberty of the other ; and the sentiments of the latter go to oppose those claims to the last drop of her blood.

The English Opposition, therefore, are right : mere trade will not satisfy Ireland. They judge of us by other great nations—by the English nation, whose whole political life has been a struggle for liberty. They judge of us with a true knowledge and just deference for our character,—that a country, enlightened as Ireland, armed as Ireland, and injured as Ireland, will be satisfied with nothing less than liberty. I admire that public-spirited merchant,* who spread consternation at the Custom House; and, despising the example which great men afforded, tendered for entry prohibited manufactures, and sought, at his private risk, the liberty of his country;—with him, I am convinced, it is necessary to agitate the question of right. In vain will you endeavour to keep it back; the passion is too natural, the sentiment too irresistible, the question comes on of its own vitality. You must reinstate the laws.

There is no objection to this resolution, except fears. I have examined your fears; I pronounce them to be frivolous. If England is a tyrant, 'tis you have made her so; it is the slave that makes the tyrant, and then murmurs at the master whom he himself has constituted. I do allow, on the subject of commerce, England was jealous in the extreme; and I do say, it was commercial jealousy: it was the spirit of monopoly. The woollen trade, and the act

* Alderman Horan.

of Navigation, had made her tenacious of a comprehensive legislative authority; and having now ceded that monopoly, there is nothing in the way of our liberty, except our own corruption and pusillanimity. Nothing can prevent your being free, except yourselves: it is not in the disposition of England, it is not in the interest of England, it is not in her force. What! can 8,000,000 of Englishmen, opposed to 20,000,000 of French, 7,000,000 of Spanish, to 3,000,000 of Americans, reject the alliance of 3,000,000 in Ireland? Can 8,000,000 of British men, thus out-numbered by foes, take upon their shoulders the expense of an expedition to enslave Ireland? Will Great Britain, a wise and magnanimous country, thus tutored by experience and wasted by war, the French navy riding her channel, send an army to Ireland to levy no tax, to enforce no law, to answer no end whatever, except to spoliage the charters of Ireland, and enforce a barren oppression?

What! has England lost 13 provinces? has she reconciled herself to this loss, and will she not be reconciled to the liberty of Ireland? Take notice, that the very constitution which I move you to declare, Great Britain herself offered to America: it is a very instructive proceeding in the British history. In 1778, a commission went out with powers to cede to the 13 provinces of America totally and radically the legislative authority claimed over her by the British Parliament; and the commissioners, pursuant

to their powers, did offer to all, or any of the American states, the total surrender of the legislative authority of the British Parliament. I will read you their letter to the Congress. [Here the letter was read, surrendering the power as aforesaid.] What! has England offered this to the resistance of America, and will she refuse this to the loyalty of Ireland? But, though you do not hazard disturbance by agreeing to this resolution, you do most exceedingly hazard tranquillity by rejecting it. Do not imagine that the question will be over when this motion shall be negatived—no; it will recur in a vast variety of shapes, and diversity of places. Your constituents have instructed you, in great numbers, with a powerful uniformity of sentiment, and in a style not the less awful, because full of respect. They will find resources in their own virtue, if they have found none in yours. Public pride, and conscious liberty, wounded by repulse, will find ways and means of vindication. You are in that situation in which every man, every hour of the day, may shake the pillars of the state. Every court may swarm with questions of right, every quay and wharf with prohibited goods. What shall the judges, what the commissioners, do upon such occasion? Shall they comply with the laws of Ireland against the claims of England, and stand firm where you have trembled? Shall they, on the other hand, not comply; and shall they persist to act against the law? Will you punish them, will you proceed against them, for not showing a spirit supe-

rior to your own? On the other hand, will you not punish them? Will you leave your liberties to be trampled on by those men? Will you bring them and yourselves, all constituted orders, executive power, judicial power, parliamentary authority, into a state of odium, impotence, and contempt, transferring the task of defending public right into the hands of the populace, and leaving it to the judges to break the laws, and to the people to assert them? Such would be the consequence of false moderation, of irritating timidity, of inflammatory palliations, of the weak and corrupt hope of compromising with the court, before you have emancipated the country.

I have answered the only semblance of a solid reason against the motion. I will now try to remove some lesser pretences, some minor impediments; for instance; 1st, that we have a resolution of the same kind already in our Journals. But how often was the Great Charter confirmed? not more frequently than your rights have been violated. Is one solitary resolution, declaratory of your rights, sufficient for a country, whose history, from the beginning unto the end, has been a course of violation?

The fact is, every new breach is a reason for a new repair; every new infringement should be a new declaration, lest charters should be overwhelmed by precedents, and a nation's rights lost in oblivion, and the people themselves lose the memory of their own freedom.

I shall hear of ingratitude, and name the argu-

ment to despise it. I know the men who use it are not grateful; they are insatiate, they are public extortioners, who would stop the tide of public prosperity, and turn it to the channel of their own wretched emolument. I know of no species of gratitude which should prevent my country from being free; no gratitude which should oblige Ireland to be the slave of England. In cases of robbery or usurpation, nothing is an object of gratitude, except the thing stolen, the charter spoliated. A nation's liberty cannot, like her money, be rated and parcelled out in gratitude. No man can be grateful or liberal of his conscience, nor woman of her honour, nor nation of her liberty. There are certain inimpairable, inherent, invaluable properties, not to be alienated from the person, whether body politic or body natural. With the same contempt do I treat that charge, which says, that Ireland is insatiable; seeing, that Ireland asks nothing but that which Great Britain has robbed her of—her rights and privileges. To say, that Ireland is not to be satisfied with liberty, because she is not satisfied with slavery, is folly.

I laugh at that man who supposes, that Ireland will not be content with a free trade, and a free constitution; and would any man advise her to be content with less?

I shall be told, that we hazard the modification of the law of Poinings, and the Judges Bill, and the

Habeas Corpus Bill, and the Nullum Tempus Bill; but I ask, have you been for years begging for these little things, and have not you yet been able to obtain them? and have you been contending against a little body of eighty men, in Privy Council assembled, convocating themselves into the image of a Parliament, and ministering your high office; and have you been contending against one man, a humble individual, to you a Leviathan, the English Attorney General, exercising Irish legislation in his own person, and making your parliamentary deliberations a blank, by altering your bills, or suppressing them; have you not been able to quell this little monster? Do you wish to know the reason? I will tell you,—because you have not been a parliament, nor your country a people. Do you wish to know the remedy?—be a parliament, become a nation, and those things will follow in the train of your consequence.

I shall be told that tithes are shaken, being vested by force of English acts; but in answer to that, I observe, time may be a title, but an English Act of Parliament certainly cannot: it is an authority which, if a judge would charge, no jury would find, and which all the Electors of Ireland have already disclaimed,—disclaimed unequivocally, cordially, and universally.

Sir, this is good argument for an act of title, but no argument against a declaration of right. My

friend who sits above me, has a bill of confirmation. We do not come unprepared to parliament. I am not come to shake property, but to confirm property; and to restore freedom. The nation begins to form—we are moulding into a people,—freedom asserted—property secured—and the army, a mercenary band; likely to be dependent on your Parliament, restrained by law. Never was such a revolution accomplished in so short a time, and with such public tranquillity. In what situation would those men who call themselves friends of Constitution and of Government have left you? They would have left you without a title (as they stole it) to your estates, without an assertion of your constitution, or a law for your army; and this state of private and public insecurity, this anarchy raging in the kingdom for eighteen months, these mock-moderators would have had the presumption to call peace.

The King has no other title to his Crown than that which you have to your Liberty; both are founded, the throne and your freedom, upon the right vested in the subject, to resist by arms, notwithstanding their oaths of allegiance, any authority attempting to impose acts of power as laws: whether that authority be one man or a host, the second James or the British Parliament, every argument for the House of Hanover is equally an argument for the liberties of Ireland. The Act of

Settlement is an act of rebellion, or the 6th George First an act of usurpation. I do not refer to doubtful history but to living record, to common Charters, to the interpretation England has put on those Charters, an interpretation made, not by words only, but crowned by arms; to the Revolution she has formed upon them, to the King she has established, and above all, to the oath of allegiance solemnly plighted to the House of Stuart and afterwards set aside in the instance of a grave and moral people absolved by virtue of those very Charters; and as any thing less than liberty is inadequate to Ireland, so is it dangerous to Great Britain. We are too near the British nation—we are too conversant with her history—we are too much fired by her example, to be any thing less than equals; any thing less, we should be her bitterest enemies. An enemy to that power which smote us with her mace, and to that constitution from whose blessings we were excluded—to be ground as we have been by the British nation, bound by her Parliament, plundered by her Crown, threatened by her enemies, and insulted with her protection, while we returned thanks for her condescension, is a system of meanness and misery which has expired in our determination, and in her magnanimity; that there are precedents against us I allow—acts of power I would call them, not precedents; and I answer the English pleading such precedents,

as they answered their kings when they urged precedents against the liberty of England—such things are the tyranny of one side, and the weakness of the other, and the law of neither: we will not be bound by them; or rather, in the words of the Declaration of Right, no doing, judgment, or proceeding to the contrary, shall be brought into precedent or example. Do not, then, tolerate a power, the power of the British Parliament, over this land, which has no foundation in necessity, or utility, or empire; or the laws of England, or the laws of Ireland, or the laws of nature, or the laws of God. Do not suffer that power which banished your manufacturers, dishonoured your peerage, and stopped the growth of your people; do not, I say, be bribed by an export of woollen, or an import of sugar, and suffer that power which has thus withered the land, to have existence in your pusillanimity. Do not send the people to their own resolves for liberty, passing by the tribunals of justice, and the high court of Parliament; neither imagine, that by any formation of apology, you can palliate such a commission to your hearts, still less to your children, who will sting you in your grave for interposing between them and their Maker, and robbing them of an immense occasion, and losing an opportunity which you did not create, and can never restore.

Hereafter, when these things shall be history,

your age of thralldom, your sudden resurrection, commercial redress, and miraculous arguments; shall the historian stop at liberty, and observe, that here the principal men among us were found wanting, were awed by a weak ministry, bribed by an empty treasury; and when liberty was within their grasp, and her Temple opened its folding doors, fell down, and were prostituted at the threshold?

I might, as a constituent, come to your bar and demand my liberty. I do call upon you by the laws of the land, and their violation; by the instructions of 18 counties; by the arms, inspiration, and providence of the present moment—Tell us the rule by which we shall go, assert the law of Ireland, declare the liberty of the land. I will not be answered by a public lie in the shape of an amendment; nor, speaking for the subject's freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be, to break your chain, and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied, so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags: he may be naked, he shall not be in irons; and I do see the time at hand; the spirit is gone forth; the Declaration of Right is planted; and though great men should fall off, yet the cause shall live; and though he who utters

this should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the humble organ who conveys it ; and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him.

[He then moved the Declaration of Right.
See the Address of the 16th of April, in
page 59.]

It is a very common mistake to suppose that the
only way to get a good result is to work hard
and long hours. In fact, the best results are
usually obtained by working a few hours a day
and taking plenty of rest.

It is also a mistake to suppose that the
only way to get a good result is to work
hard and long hours. In fact, the best results
are usually obtained by working a few hours a day
and taking plenty of rest.

[Spoken on the 19th of February, 1782.]

BEFORE Ireland goes into her title, let us hear the title of England; for the question is not, whether Ireland has a right to be free, but whether Great Britain has a right to enslave her. When the latter country asks what right have the Irish to make laws for themselves? Ireland will not answer, but demands, what right has England to make laws for Ireland—from nature she has none—nature has not given any one nation a right over another. Has she it from covenant? let her show the covenant. In what roll do we find it? in what history is it recorded? There is no such thing; there is a covenant most certainly, but a covenant diametrically opposite; it is a compact with Henry 2nd securing to Henry the crown—to Irish settlers the laws of England; that is to say, the liberties of England, in which is included a right not to be bound without her own consent, and to have her own legislative assemblies. These articles

exclude the English legislature ; and thus the title of the King precludes the Parliament : there is, then, no covenant—there is, then, no covenant regarding the English Parliament, except one, which is against her. Are we, then, to search for her right, in usage?—but usage is a continuation of precedent from the beginning, exercised without opposition or counterclaim from a people able to oppose, whose laws on the subject are silent. Where is such usage? England puts forth two great instances, which she denominates laws—the Statutum Hiberniæ is one ; the Ordination, 17th Edw. 1st, the other. There are no such laws. These instruments are orders of the King, touching things to be done in Ireland in consequence of the adoption of English laws by her covenant with Henry 2nd. They are evidence of the compact, and the reverse of evidence of conquest. The Statutum Hiberniæ was as follows : The judges of Ireland, conceiving a doubt regarding inheritances devolved on sisters, viz. whether the younger should hold under the elder, and do homage to her ; or hold under the Lord, and do homage to him ; the chief-justice dispatched four knights to the King of England, to bring a certificate from thence of the practice there used ; whereon the King sent his rescript, to inform the chief-justice what the law and custom was in England. The rescript concludes, that the said custom that be used in this case, be proclaimed throughout our dominion of Ireland, *Teste meipso*.

This rescript is what they call a statute. The other instance is equally inapplicable. The ordination *pro Statu Hiberniæ* was never received as law. The first article of the ordination prohibits the justices, or other of the King's servants, to purchase land in Ireland ; but that has been ever otherwise ; besides, it is no act of parliament, but an ordinance of the King's and Privy Council, which is evident from the preamble, and from this fact, that Edward held no Parliament in England in the year in which that ordinance was made. Thus the two great precedents fail, and the case stumbles at the outset.

With diminished authority, England then resorts to certain of her laws, which, in the generality of their expression, serves Ireland : the former instances were not laws, and these laws are not precedents—they are principally the acts of appeal :

Hen. 8, Act of First Fruits.

Hen. 8, Act of Faculties.

Hen. 8, Act of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

But these acts were never put in force in Ireland, nor was any attempt made for that purpose ; on the contrary, because they were not in force in Ireland, and because their power did not extend to that country, it was necessary, that the Parliament of Ireland should pass acts to the same purpose, and such acts were passed accordingly, and form a precedent, not for the claim of England, but an argument and precedent against it ; for the general words

of these statutes had no operation in Ireland, for no other reason, than because the English Parliament had no jurisdiction. The general terms of her acts stood controlled by the limits of her power; and the non-execution of the acts is a cotemporary evidence against her jurisdiction; so was the point decided. The case decided was as follows: The first of Eliz. gave a power to erect a court of high commission; the general words of the act extended to Ireland, but no court of high commission was erected there. Then followed the Irish Act of the 2nd of Eliz., which gave the Queen the same power in Ireland; and a court of high commission was erected accordingly. Then follows the Bill of Right, which put down all such courts. The Bill of Right is declaratory, and its terms universal. A person was deprived of his bishopric in Ireland, by virtue of a court of high commission, sitting after the Bill of Right had passed; and the question was, whether such English bill acted on Ireland, or repealed the Irish Act. The judges and chancellor of Ireland determined that it did not. Thus it appears, that an English statute, however general in its terms, does not act on Ireland, and for no other reason but because the English Parliament is not her legislature. She next produces an order of acts which passed in the reign of King Edward, which did bind Ireland; but these are not acts of the English Parliament, but of the English and Irish

Parliament; that is to say, with members sent to England, to represent Ireland, sitting in conjunction: there are writs extant to that purpose. Now, acts that passed conjointly, do not prove that the English Parliament has a right to pass acts for Ireland separately: they prove the contrary; they prove, that where it was intended to bind Ireland, it was necessary to send for Irish representatives; and here again, the instances she quotes, are authorities against her. Next advances a description of English acts, which, in the opinion of the lawyer, though not adopted by Ireland, do bind her. They are acts declaratory of the common law of England; which Ireland, by her compact with Henry 2nd, adopted, and of which she received the interpretation, from time to time, from England, not as legislative provisions, but as judicial decisions; and these interpretations obtain, not by the authority of the English Parliament, but of the Irish assembly that passed the compact. And by the 12th of John, adopting those laws, there is introduced another description of English statutes wherein Ireland is especially named; they are the 4th of Henry 5th, relative to Irish servants; the 1st of Henry 6th, relative to ecclesiastical benefices; 19th Henry 7th, relative to Perkin Warbeck's confederates; 8th Henry 7th, regarding tithe; and the 2nd of Henry 6th, on the Staple Act. You will observe, that these are the only in-

cient precedents set forth ; that the latter instances are proceedings against an exhausted country, which require to be supported by precedents, and are not in themselves precedents : they are not, as Vaughan absurdly suggests, their own precedents. . . . These, I say, are not precedents ; and the ancient precedents are not laws ; it does not appear, that they were carried into execution, and it does appear, that they were denied : there are five protests against their legality : there is the Irish Act of the 10th of Henry 4th, declaring that no law should be of force in Ireland, until it should be confirmed by the Irish Parliament : there is the 29th of Henry 6th, declaring that no act should be of force in Ireland, unless it was confirmed by the Irish Parliament. You know the early rolls of Ireland are lost, but the exemplification of these acts were found in the treasury of Waterford, and cannot be questioned, and do exclude expressly the Parliament of England. There is the Act of Faculties in the reign of Henry the 8th, which runs as follows :—" This your grace's realm recognising no superior under God but your grace, hath been, and yet is free from subjection to any man's laws, but such as have been devised and ordained within this realm ; or to such other as, by sufferance of your grace, and your progenitors, the people of this realm have taken at their free liberty by their own consent." There is the Declaration of Right in Ireland, declaring that his Majesty's sub-

jects in Ireland are a free people, and to be governed only according to the common law of England, and statutes made and established by parliament in this kingdom of Ireland, and according to the lawful customs used in the same. There is the Protest of the Lords of Ireland, 1721, with five instruments of counter-claim.

2. England has not made out her case by precedent, and Ireland is not put upon hers. But we do not stop here: Three of the instruments we have stated are acts of parliament, they are not evidence of law but the law, the Parliament that declares the law, makes it; and what is that law? viz. it declares that no statute has force in Ireland until confirmed by the Irish Parliament. What now becomes of the precedents? Supposing they were in point, supposing they were numerous, yet precedents cannot repeal act of parliament, but act of parliament repeals them. The claim of England is then set aside by the authority of parliament. The Irish acts referred to, namely, the 10th of Henry 4th, and the 29th of Henry the 6th, were before most of the precedents quoted, and one of the acts before any of the precedents, and therefore before any usage is pretended; or could have existed; besides, the common law of England was introduced in Ireland the 9th of King John; that is, before any precedent. But Parliament; or such a legislative assembly, is a part of the common law, and two parliaments are against the com-

mon law ; but these precedents cannot set aside the common law, no more than it can repeal the statute. The claim of England is, then, not a title established by usage, and after, set aside by statutes ; but an attempt to overturn the common law of the land, as well as acts of parliament, and make violation legislation. I might stop here, and observe, that England has made out no title, and that it is not necessary for Ireland to go into her case ; however, I choose to go on, and to observe, that Ireland has not only the common law, not only the statute law, but she has, against the claim of England, the covenants of connexion ; she has the Compact of Henry 2nd with the Irish Princes, giving to Henry the Crown, and to the Princes their governments, and to the Irish settlers the English laws,—the Charter of John, and then Magna Charta, in which it is recited—“ the city of Dublin shall have her ancient privileges, and all towns, and cities, and boroughs their free customs.” What liberties ? what free customs ? Was the power of the legislature of another country to shut up their ports and stop their commerce, one of their free customs ? The king shall not take aids but by the consent of the realm : then the British cannot tax you ; such is the 29th of the charter, 25th and 27th Edward 1st : No freeman shall be taken or disseised of his freehold, or free custom, or be outlawed, banished, or destroyed ; nor shall the King pass upon him, but by the lawful

judgment of his peers, or the law of the land. See the charter then—the British Parliament cannot punish you, it cannot tax Ireland, it cannot punish Ireland: then it cannot legislate for Ireland. The powers denied, form the whole of the legislature, and these laws form for the subject a condition incompatible with the claims of England. All men shall have their liberties as when they had them the best—such is the 37th of Edward the 1st. Was the power of another country to make law for us, our best liberty? Was conquest our best law? And do not imagine that this act is inoperative, because general; or that a franchise needs be penned with the subtilty of a penal law. Indeed, the Attorney General of Charles the 1st thought so; and when he argued against the liberties of the people of England at a conference with the Lords on the Petition of Rights, said, that the statutes of the Great Charter, and other franchises, are conceived in general to be expounded, that is to say, to be done away by precedents; but he lived to feel, in his own impeachment, the vanity of that argument, and found the laws of his country, which he imagined dead to her protection, were alive to his punishment. I have mentioned certain laws and charters in support of the freedom of Ireland: are they the whole? no; there are more of them, namely, all the laws by which England claims her liberty: they were enacted in Ireland by the 10th of Henry 7th. All those are communicated to Ireland;

and I beg to set forth these rights and privileges, together with those mentioned before, not only as charters of freedom, but links of connexion. Ireland has another title in support of her liberty, a Parliament of her own. Parliament is exclusive legislature; it is so *ex vi termini*: such is the construction of England herself; the *modus tenendi* is in both countries the same; but it is not necessary to establish the *modus*, in order to ascertain the power. The competency of the Parliament of Ireland stands on the same base within this realm; so that of the English Parliament within the realm of Great Britain; like that of England, our legislature is composed of King, Lords, and Commons; but the word King is exclusive, the word Lords is exclusive, and the word Commons exclusive. When you say you are governed by a King, you mean one King; when you say you are governed by a Parliament, you mean one Parliament, when the judges said, that the laws of England did not extend to Ireland, because she had a Parliament of her own, they said, by necessary construction, that the English legislature was not her Parliament: it is true, if the English legislature chose to name Ireland, and usurp legislative authority, the judge cannot question the legislature of his own country; but such a proceeding does not become a matter of right, because the judge cannot relieve against it. I have shown the claim of England is not a case of precedent; violation is not le-

gislation; robbery unpunished, does not repeal the Decalogue; precedent cannot avail against an act of parliament, still less against the institution of parliament itself: it is a *præva consuetudo*, not a law; and a course of precedent is a course of violation. Could precedent repeal the Great Charter, it was thirty times violated; but such violation did not cancel the Great Charter, but proved so many challenges to reaffirm, and reinstate, and glorify that great instrument of public liberty. The reign of Henry the 8th was a precedent against the privilege of parliament: Forced loans had their precedents—ship-money had its precedents. Charles the 1st imposed a loan by his own authority; five gentlemen refused to pay it: they were imprisoned by a warrant from the Council: they are brought up on their Habeas Corpus: they produce six laws, besides the Charter, in their favour; the judges rely on precedent, and remand the prisoners. These judges despised the old laws, to which they and their predecessors were sworn, and stood on precedents, in which those predecessors were perjured; but those franchises survived these pliant judges, and afterwards sat in judgment upon them, and left, in the punishment of those men, a precedent better than their example—the triumph of the law over the perjury of the judges. What has been the conduct of the people of England on the subject of precedent? You are armed with her laws—be animated by her example! Her Declaration of

Right, after reciting precedents against the liberty of the subject, says, all such doings and so forth, shall be utterly void. Her Great Charter had set forth, that any judgment given to the contrary, shall be utterly void. She formed her Petition of Right upon her birth-right—your birth-right against precedent. She formed her Declaration of Right on the same ground. She considered the right of Kings as defeasible, and the birth-right of the subject as indefeasible; and she deposed a King, who had, under the authority of precedent and adjudication, invaded the indefeasible right of the subject, out of which right, she not only formed a revolution, but a dynasty that had and has no other foundation than that which depends on the abolishment of every arbitrary maxim in Church and State,—the venal judgment, the violent precedent, and the bare-faced impudence of the law of conquest. Has, then, the birth-right of the British subject—your birth-right—been against precedent, the precedent of the Plantagenets, the precedent of the Tudors, the precedent of the Stuarts, to form a Petition of Right, a Declaration of Right, a Revolution, cancel the oath of allegiance, depose James, establish William, royalise the House of Hanover? Has our common birth-right done all this for England, and given security to her meanest subject, and clothed her beggar with his sturdiness? and has it left Ireland naked, subject to be bound without your consent, taxed without your consent;

restricted commerce, an independent army, and a dependent parliament? We have done with precedent. She then resorts to authority. To what authority, to her judges? To do what? To repeal act of parliament by interpretation? What act, Magna Charta? I respect the judges, but in this case, I object to their authority; first, because they are partial, being of the country whose power they are to discuss; secondly, because they are dependent, being punishable by the parliament whose claims they are to arbitrate; thirdly, because they are incompetent, being by their office obliged to pronounce the law as parliament declares; fourthly, because they are inadmissible, being in this case called upon to repeal act of parliament under colour of interpretation. The Great Charter, the 10th Henry 4th, the 29th Henry 6th, the Act of Faculties, do not want an interpreter: these say, no English statute shall be of force in Ireland, till confirmed by the Irish Parliament: no Irish subject to be bound by statutes, except ordained within the realm; to say they may, is to repeal, not to interpret: such explanation is violation, not interpretation, and the judge not an authority, but an offender; besides, the judges are bad arbiters of public liberty. There is no act of power for which you have not a precedent, nor any false doctrine for which you have not an adjudication. Lord Bacon maintained a dispensing power—Lord Coke

maintained a dispensing power—Lord Chief Justice Fleming affirmed the power of the King to lay port duties—Judge Blackstone maintained the power of the House of Commons to disqualify by the vote of its own body. When the Attorney General filed an information against five members of parliament for their speeches in the House of Commons, the judges of the King's Bench fined and committed them all. There is no adjudication which the judges of England can make against Ireland, that they have not made against their own country. Now, as the people of England have disregarded such authority when waged against their own liberties, so shall we disregard the same authority when waged against ours. We cannot allow England to plead her Magna Charta against the authority of her judges, and to sit up the authority of her judges against the Magna Charta of Ireland; nor must she answer her judges with the principles of the Revolution, nor Ireland with those of the Jacobins; for neither judgments, nor the judges, nor precedents, are laws; still less can they repeal laws—still less, franchises; and least of all, the charters—these things right themselves without a judge, and in despite of him, and put forth a voice even against kings; and, buried for ages, like the blood of the murdered man, they rise up in judgment, and call for justice. Let them now produce their judges. There are four remarkable adjudications on

this subject, one has been against us, and three have been favourable; the one against us is the case of the Staple Act; the English Act 2nd of Henry 6th; it was a case where Ireland was specially named and forbidden to export woollen to Calais: the first decision adjudged, that Ireland was not bound by this Act: the decision was made in the time of Richard 3rd, by all the judges of England, assembled in the Exchequer Chamber. This case afterwards, in the reign of Henry 7th, was, by Lord Chief Justice Hussy, decided against us; his brethren not much dissenting; the reporter, Brooke, doubts the legality of his opinion, and Lord Coke approves of the contrary opinion, namely, of the original determination of the judges assembled in the Exchequer. Under these circumstances stands the decision that is against us; of the three decisions which were for us, I have already stated one; another was the case of a patent given to one Pilkington, of an office in Ireland, which he discharged by deputy. A. got a patent for the same office, and Pilkington brought a *scire facias* to the Court in England, 20th of Henry 6th, against A. to show cause why the patent should not be repealed: A. pleaded that the Irish Parliament had, by an Act, required that said office should be discharged in person, or forfeited; and then he prescribed for the Irish Parliament, and the prescription was allowed: The third decision, is that of the judges of Ire-

land—queries put to them by the Lords, at the request of the Commons. The first query was as follows: Whether the subjects of Ireland be a free people, and to be governed only by the common laws of England, and statutes of force in this kingdom? to which query all the judges answer in the affirmative—they point out where the common law, in some instances, differs from that of England, where equity interferes; but with respect to the question, whether the subjects of Ireland be a free people, to be bound only by the common laws of England and the Irish statutes, their assent is unqualified. Such is the answer of the seven judges of Ireland, given in writing, with their names affixed. The other authorities are, the opinions of judges, given in their books. One of these opinions is that of Mr. Justice Blackstone, a very considerable name—but what has this oracle pronounced? namely, that the Parliament of England has settled her own right by her own *ipse dixit*, she has settled the matter, he says, by the Declaratory Act of the 6th of George 1st. Certainly she has settled the matter for this Rhadamanthus, but his remark proves only, that the Parliament of England had authority over her judges, but it does not prove that she had authority over Ireland; certainly the judge cannot question the legislature, and therefore ought not, in such a case, to be arbiter: he adds his own reasons; they are bad ones. Ireland,

he says, is a kind of colony planted by England ; and there he rests the right of England on conquest : to which we answer, she is not a colony—she is not a kind of colony—that she was not planted by England—that she was not conquered, and that if she were, she has compacts, charters, and laws, to do away what is called the right of conquest. I must observe, this grave and learned judge does not in this case exert himself within his own craft or mystery ; he speaks on the History of Ireland, and the law of nations, and is erroneous in both. Next is introduced the thunderbolt of the law—the English Minos—Lord Coke, a great authority, a friend to liberty, and the principal framer of the Bill of Right ; but this leviathan does not combat here in the waters, he acts in another element ; and though in every element prepollent, is not sole monarch in this. He declares that Ireland is not bound by the English Parliament, and gives his reasons, viz. because she has a parliament of her own, and does not send representatives to the Parliament of England ; and then he adds, not bound, except when she is specially named, which does not, however, remove the force of his reason, but leaves it to act against the exception, as well as against the general proposition ; for she has not, when named, a parliament the less, nor a representative the more. He then quotes a precedent ; it is, where England bound Ireland, when Ireland sent representatives to England ;

and he infers from thence, that England can bind Ireland when she does not; and finally, he rests his opinion on a law which goes to overturn the liberty of his own country, as well as of ours—the law of conquest: so is Vaughan—he sets in the gulph, in which his learned brethren, the other lights of the law are extinguished—conquest: so are they all—they all rest on this law. I have shown that England has no title by the law of nature, no title by the law of covenant, no title by the law of usage. Will she claim by conquest? Henry 2nd renounced it—he took by gift from the Pope—he made a covenant with the Irish chieftains—they acknowledged him their King, and he confirmed to them their petty governments: he made a covenant with the English settlers, they swearing allegiance to him, and he communicating to them the laws and liberties of England. No right of conquest extends to the posterity of the conquered—no right of conquest except in a just war: such is Locke. Conquest is not a title, but an occasion and opportunity for gaining one; and that title not good, except the war be just, and the government with the express, or tacit consent of the people: such is Burlamaqui. If the people do not voluntarily submit, the state of war exists: such is Vattel. The right of conquest is extinguished by pacts, charters, and laws: so are they all—the authorities quoted against us, refute the idea of conquest. The judges

in Pilkington's case, who allow the prescription for a parliament, give up the idea of conquest. Lord Coke himself, who affirms that Ireland has a parliament of her own, gives up the idea of conquest. The seven judges of Ireland who acknowledged that the Irish were a free people, to be governed only by the common law of England, and her own statutes, give up the idea of conquest. Let us hear England herself on the subject. What says the King, the conqueror? let us hear Charles the First.

“ Mr. Pim, in Lord Strafford's impeachment, speaks as follows : “ The law is the safeguard of all private interests ; without this, every man has a right to every thing, and this is the case to which the Irish were reduced by the Earl of Strafford ; and the reason he gave, hath more mischief than the thing itself, viz. they were a conquered nation. There are few nations in the world have not been conquered ; but if pacts and agreements do not restrain that, what people can be free ? England hath been conquered—Wales hath been conquered, and by this reason will be little better than Ireland.” Thus speaks Mr. Pim. What says the English House of Commons? it says, “ That the realm of Ireland having been, time out of mind, annexed to the Imperial Crown of England, and governed by the *same laws*, the said Earl being deputy in that realm, to bring his Majesty's liege subjects of that realm into a

dislike of his Majesty's government, and intending the subversion of the fundamental laws, and settled government of that kingdom, and the destruction of his majesty's liege people there, did declare and publish, that Ireland was a conquered nation." Thus spoke the English House of Commons with regard to her Minister. How did Parliament act with regard to her King, in the face of the law of conquest? She resolved as follows: That there is an original compact between the King and the people; that James 2nd had broken that original compact, and that this breach, with his other offences, was an abdication of his Crown, and she deposed him accordingly; and she called on the Irish to aid her in the deposition. England called on the Irish to shed their blood, and they shed it accordingly, in deposing James 2nd, for having broken his compact with England; and will she now break the compact with Ireland, and set up here the law of conquest? Has she attainted the Irish for the treason of aiding James, who broke his covenant with England? and will she punish the Irish for not aiding England in breaking the compact with themselves? and will she employ her King, who owes his Crown to one compact, to break the other. Will she confiscate the Catholic property of James's abettors in Ireland, on the principles of covenant; and seize on the liberties of the whole realm on the principle of conquest; and commit, herself, that

very same crime, a prodigy in the history of mankind unparalleled, and an exhibition of the thirst of power, in the frenzy of the human race unimaginable—commit herself that very crime for which she beheaded her Minister, and deposed her King?

This brings the claim of England to mere violence: it is a right which Swift—I think it is Swift—has explained, the right of the grenadier to take the property of a disarmed man. I add, this man has now gotten back his arms, and begs to get back his property. Thus the question remaining, is a question of ability; and in considering this, you are not to contemplate alone the difficulties in your front; you are to look back to the strength in your rear. You have an immense force, the hope of a much greater, of different religions, but of one political faith, kept up for three years defending the country; for the government took away her troops, and consigned her defence to the people. Defending the government, I say, aiding the civil power, and pledged to maintain the liberty of Ireland to the last drop of their blood. Who is this body? The Commons of Ireland, and you at the head of them. It is more; it is the society in its greatest possible description; it is the property, it is the soul of the country armed. They—for this body has yet no adequate name—in the Summer of 1780, they agree to a Declaration of Right. In the Autumn of 1781, they hear that the French are at

sea. In the heat and hurricane of their zeal for liberty, they stop: without delay they offer to march: their march waits only for the commands of the Castle. The Castle, where the sagacious courtier had abandoned his uniform, finds it prudent to receive a self-armed association. This age has beheld, posterity will admire—wonder! The delegates of that self-armed association proceed to the mansion of the Government, ascend the steps, advance to the presence of the Lord Lieutenant, and make a tender of their lives and fortunes, with all the form and reception of an authenticated establishment. A painter might here display and contrast the loyalty of a Courtier with that of a Volunteer. He would paint the Courtier hurrying off his uniform, casting away his arms, filling his pockets with public money, and then presenting to his Sovereign naked servitude. He would paint the Volunteer, seizing his charters, handling his arms, forming his columns, improving his discipline, demanding his rights, and then at the foot of the Throne, making a tender of armed allegiance; he had no objection to die by the side of England, but he must be found dead with her Charter in his hand. Stationed as you are in relation to the community, and these great objects, how do you mean to proceed—submit, and take the lead in desertion? Impossible! The strength which supports your virtue, precludes your apostasy.

The armed presence of the nation will not bend, the community in arms will not be sold, nor suffer the eternal blessing of freedom and renown to depend on the experiment, whether this scoundrel shall be a pensioner, or that pick-pocket a peer. Before you decide upon the practicability of being slaves for ever, look to America. Do you see nothing in that America, but the grave and prison of your armies? And do you not see in her range of territory, cheapness of living, variety of climate, and simplicity of life—the drain of Europe?

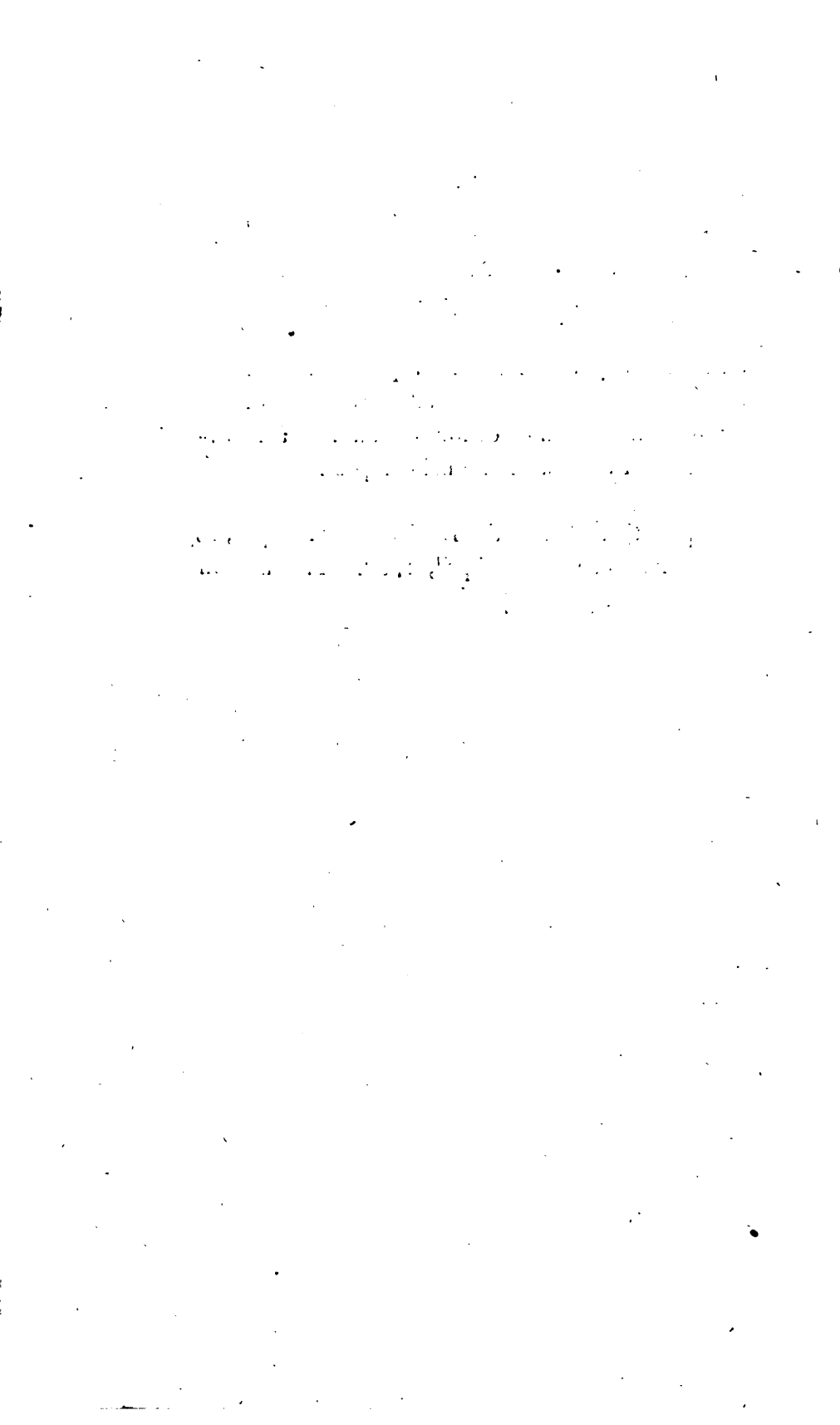
Whatever is bold and disconsolate, sullen virtue, wounded pride—all, all to that point will precipitate; and what you trample on in Europe, will sting you in America. When Philadelphia, or whatever city the American appoints for empire, sends forth her ambassadors to the different kings of Europe, and manifests to the world her independency and power, do you imagine, that you will persuade Ireland to be satisfied? Satisfied with a refusal to her loyalty of the privileges which England granted to the arms of America, how will the individuals among you like this? Some of the gentlemen whom I now see in their places, are the descendants of kings—the illustrious gentleman on the far bench—my illustrious friend near me—will they derogate from the royalty of their lineage, or bow their honoured heads, and acknowledge the crown of their ancestors on the brow of every

forty-shilling freeholder in England, or on every front except that of his Majesty? Are the American enemies to be free, and these royal subjects to be slaves? or in what quality does his Majesty choose to contemplate the Irish hereafter, his subjects in parliament, or his equals in congress?

There remains, then, but one measure—establish the independency of your Parliament. What do you wait for? Do you wait for a peace—till the volunteer retires, and the minister replies by his cannon? the Stag frigate is now in your harbour,—or do you wait for more calamities on the fortunes of England—till the empire is a wreck, and we both go down together? or do you delay till Providence, beholding you on your knees, shall fall in love with your baseness, and rain on your servility Constitution like manna. You resort to the House of God when you want heat or moisture, and you interfere with God's dispensations by your importunities. Are the Princes of the earth more vigilant than the Almighty, that you should besiege the throne of mercy, and hold it unnecessary to admonish the King; or do you wait till your country speaks to you in thunder? Let me conclude by observing, that you have the two claims before you—the claim of England to power, and of Ireland to liberty; and I have shown you that England has no title to that power to make laws for Ireland. None by nature, none by compact, none

by usage, and none by conquest ; and that Ireland has several titles against the claims of England,—a title by nature, a title by compact, a title by divers acts of parliament, a title by charter, and by all the laws by which England possesses her liberties,—by England's interpretation of these laws, by her renunciation of conquest, and her acknowledgment of the law of original compact.

[He then moved the Declaration of Right, as he had done in April, 1780.—The motion was negatived.]



[Spoken on the 16th of April, 1782.]

I AM now to address a free people. Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often, that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded, until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance. I found Ireland on her knees—I watched over her with an eternal solieitude, and have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to Liberty. Spirit of Swift—spirit of Molyneux—your genius has prevailed—Ireland is now a nation—in that new character I hail her; and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua*. She is no longer a wretched colony, returning thanks to her Governor for his rapine, and to her King for his oppression; nor is she now a fretful, squabbling sectary, perplexing her little wits, and firing her furious statutes with bigotry, sophistry, disabilities, and death, to transmit to posterity insignificance and war. Look to the rest of Europe—Holland

lives on the memory of past achievement—Sweden has lost her liberty—England has sullied her great name by an attempt to enslave her colonies! You are the only people—you, of the nations in Europe, are now the only people, who excite admiration; and in your present conduct, you not only exceed the present generation, but you equal the past. I am not afraid to turn back and look antiquity in the face. The Revolution, that great event,—whether you call it ancient or modern, I know not,—was tarnished with bigotry. The great deliverer,—for such I must ever call the Prince of Nassau,—was blemished by oppression; he assented to—he was forced to assent to acts which deprived the Catholics of religious, and all the Irish of civil and commercial rights, though the Irish were the only subjects in these islands who had fought in his defence; but you have sought liberty on her own principles. See the Presbyterians of Bangor petition for the Catholics of the South! You, with difficulties innumerable, with dangers not a few, have done what your ancestors wished, but could not accomplish; and what your posterity may preserve, but will never equal. You have moulded the jarring elements of your country into a nation, and have rivalled those great and ancient states whom you were taught to admire, and among whom you are now to be recorded. In this proceeding you had not the advantages which

were common to other great countries—no monuments, no trophies, none of those outward and visible signs of greatness, such as inspire mankind, and connect the ambition of the age which is coming on, with the example of that which is going off, and forms the descent and concatenation of glory. No ! You have not had any great act recorded among all your misfortunes ; nor have you one public tomb to assemble the crowd, and speak to the living the language of integrity and freedom. Your historians did not supply the want of monuments ; on the contrary, those narrators of your misfortunes who should have felt for your wrongs, and have punished your oppressors with Oppression's natural scourge, the moral indignation of history, compromised with public villany, and trembled : they recited your violence, they suppressed your provocation, and wrote in the chain that entrammelled their country. I am come to break that chain ; and I congratulate my country, who, without any of the advantages I speak of, going forth, as it were, with nothing but a stone and a sling, and what oppression could not take away, the favour of Heaven, accomplished her own redemption, and left you nothing to add and every thing to admire. You want no trophy now—the records of parliament are the evidence of your glory. I beg to observe, that the deliverance of Ireland has proceeded from her

own right-hand: I rejoice at it; for had the great acquisition of your freedom proceeded from the bounty of England, that great work would have been defective—would have been defective both in renown and security. It was necessary that the soul of the country should have been exalted by the act of her own redemption, and that England should withdraw her claim by operation of treaty, and not of mere grace and condescension. A gratuitous act of parliament, however express, would have been revocable; but the repeal of her claim, under operation of treaty, is not; in that case, the legislature is put in covenant, and bound by the law of nations,—the only law that can legally bind parliament. Never did this country stand so high. England and Ireland treat *ex æquo*. Ireland transmits to the King her claim of right, and requires of the Parliament of England the repeal of her claim of power, which repeal the English parliament is to make under the force of a treaty, which depends on the law of nations,—a law which cannot be repealed by the parliament of England. I rejoice that the people are a party to this treaty, because they are bound to preserve it. There is not a man of forty shillings freehold that is not associated in this our claim of right, and bound to die in its defence—cities, counties, associations, Protestants, and Catholics—it seems as if the people had joined in one great sacra-

ment. A flame has descended from Heaven on the intellect of Ireland, and plays round her head with a concentrated glory.—There are some who think, and a few who declare, that the associations to which I refer, are illegal. Come, then, let us try the charge. And first, I ask, what were the grievances? An army imposed on us by another country—that army rendered perpetual—the privy council of both countries made a part of our legislature—our legislature deprived of its originating and propounding power—another country exercising over us supreme legislative authority—that country disposing of our property by its judgments, and prohibiting our trade by its statutes! These were not grievances, but spoliations: they left you nothing. When you contended against them, you contended for the whole of your condition; when the minister asks by what right we refer him to our Maker, we sought our privileges by the right which we have to defend our property against a robber, our life against a murderer, our country against an invader, whether coming with civil or military force, a foreign army, or a foreign legislature. This is a case that wants no precedent—the Revolution wanted no precedent; for such things arrive to reform a course of bad precedents; and instead of being founded on precedent, become such. The gazing world whom they came to save, begins by doubt, and concludes by worship. Let

other nations be deceived by the sophistry of courts—Ireland has studied politics in the lair of oppression ; and, taught by suffering, comprehends the right of subjects, and the duty of kings. Let other nations imagine that subjects are made for the Monarch ; but we conceive, that Kings, and Parliaments like Kings, are made for the subject. The House of Commons, honourable and right honourable as it may be—the Lords, noble and illustrious as we pronounce them, are not original, but derivative. Session after session they move their periodical orbit about the source of their being—the nation—even the King—Majesty—must fulfil her due and tributary course round that great luminary ; and created by its beam, and upheld by its attraction, must incline to that light, or go out of the system.

Ministers,—we mean the ministers who have been dismissed ; I rely on the good intentions of the present,—former ministers, I say, have put questions to us—we beg to put questions to them. They desired to know by what authority this nation had acted—this nation desires to know by what authority they acted ? By what authority did government enforce the articles of war ? By what authority does government establish the Post-office ? By what authority are our merchants bound by the East-India Company's charter ? By what authority has Ireland one hundred years been deprived of her export trade ? By

what authority are her Peers deprived of their judicature? By what authority has that judicature been transferred to the Peers of Great Britain, and our property, in its last resort, referred to the decision of a non-resident unauthorized, illegal, and unconstitutional tribunal? Will ministers say, it was the authority of the British Parliament. On what ground, then, do they place the question between the government on one side, and the people on the other? The government, according to their own statement, has been occupied to supersede the law-giver of the country, and the people to restore him. His Majesty's late ministers thought they had quelled the country, when they bought the newspapers, and they represented us as wild men, and our cause as visionary; and they pensioned a set of wretches to abuse both; but we took little account of them, or their proceedings, and we waited, and we watched, and we moved, as it were, on our native hills, with the minor remains of our parliamentary army, until that minority became Ireland. Let those ministers now go home, and congratulate their King on the deliverance of his people. Did you imagine, that those little parties, whom, three years ago, you beheld in awkward squads parading the streets, should arrive to such distinction and effect? What was the cause? For it was not the sword of the volunteer, nor his muster, nor his spirit, nor his promptitude to put down accidental disturbance, public discord,

nor his own unblamed and distinguished deportment: this was much; but there was more than this. The upper orders, the property and the abilities of the country, formed with the volunteer; and the volunteer had sense enough to obey them. This united the Protestant with the Catholic, and the landed proprietor with the people. There was still more than this—there was a continence which confined the corps to limited and legitimate objects. There was a principle which preserved the corps from adultery with French politics. There was a good taste, which guarded the corps from the affection of such folly. This, all this, made them bold; for it kept them innocent, it kept them rational. No vulgar rant against England, no mysterious admiration of France, no crime to conceal, no folly to blush for, they were what they professed to be; and that was nothing less than the society asserting her liberty according to the frame of the British constitution—her inheritance to be enjoyed in perpetual connection with the British Empire. I do not mean to say, that there were not divers violent and unseemly resolutions. The immensity of the means was inseparable from the excess. Such are the great works of nature—such is the sea; but, like the sea, the waste and excess were lost in the immensity of its blessings, benefits, and advantage; and now, having given a parliament to the people, the volunteers will, I doubt not, leave the people to parliament,

and thus close, pacifically and majestically a great work, which will place them above censure, and above panegyric. Those associations, like other institutions, will perish: they will perish with the occasion that gave them being; and the gratitude of their country will write their Epitaph—

“ This phænomenon, the departed Volunteer, justified by the occasion, with some alloy of public evil, did more public good to Ireland than all her institutions. He restored the liberties of his country; and thus, from his grave, he answers his enemies.”

Connected by freedom, as well as by allegiance, the two nations, Great Britain and Ireland, form a constitutional confederacy as well as an empire. The Crown is one link, the Constitution another; and, in my mind, the latter link is the most powerful. You can get a king any where; but England is the only country with whom you can get and participate a free constitution. This makes England your natural connexion, and her King your natural, as well as your legal, sovereign. This is a connexion, not as Lord Coke has idly said, not as Judge Blackstone has foolishly said, not as other Judges have ignorantly said, by conquests; but, as Molyneux has said, and as I now say, by compact,—that compact is, a free constitution.—Suffer me now to state some of the things essential to that free constitution: they are as follows: The independency of the Irish Par-

liament—the exclusion of the British Parliament from any authority in this realm—the restoration of the Irish Judicature, and the exclusion of that of Great Britain. As to the perpetual Mutiny Bill, it must be more than limited—it must be effaced. That Bill must fall, or the constitution cannot stand, That Bill was originally limited by this House to two years, and it returned from England without the clause of limitation. What! a Bill making the army independent of parliament, and perpetual? I protested against it then—I have struggled with it since; and I am now come to destroy this great enemy of my country. The perpetual Mutiny Bill must vanish out of the Statute Book. The excellent tract of Molyneux was burned—it was not answered, and its flame illumined posterity. This evil paper shall be burned; but burned like a felon, that its execution may be a peace-offering to the people, and that a Declaration of Right may be planted on its guilty ashes. A new Mutiny Bill must be formed, after the manner of England, and a Declaration of Right flaming in its preamble. As to the legislative powers of the Privy Council, I conceive them to be utterly inadmissible against the constitution, against the privileges of Parliament, and against the dignity of the realm. Do not imagine such power to be a theoretical evil: it is, in a very high degree, a practical evil. I have here an inventory of Bills, altered and injured by the interference of the Privy

Councils—Money Bills originated by them—Protests by the Crown, in support of those Money Bills—prorogation following those Protests. I have a Mutiny Bill of 1780, altered by the Council, and made perpetual—a Bill in 1778, where the Council struck out the clause repealing the Test Act—a Militia Bill, where the Council struck out the compulsory clause, requiring the Crown to proceed to form a militia, and left it optional to his Majesty's Ministers whether there should be a militia in Ireland. I have the Money Bill of 1775, when the Council struck out the clause, enabling his Majesty to take a part of our troops for general service, and left it to the minister to withdraw the forces against Act of Parliament. I have to state the altered Money Bill of 1771, the altered Money Bill of 1775, the altered Money Bill of 1780. The day would expire before I could recount their ill-doings. I will never consent to have men,—God knows whom,—ecclesiastics, &c. &c.; men unknown to the constitution of parliament, and only known to the minister who has breathed into their nostrils an unconstitutional existence,—steal to their dark divan, which they call the Council, to do mischief, and make nonsense of Bills which their Lordships, the House of Lords, or we the House of Commons, have thought good and meet for the people. No! These men have no legislative qualifications—they shall have no legislative power. 1st, The repeal of the perpetual Mu-

tiny Bill, and the dependency of the Irish army on the Irish Parliament; 2nd, the abolition of the legislative power of the Council; 3rd, the abrogation of the claim of England, to make law for Ireland; the exclusion of the English House of Peers, and of the English King's Bench, from any judicial authority in this realm; the restoration of the Irish Peers to their final judicature; the independency of the Irish Parliament in its sole and exclusive legislature—these are my terms.

[He then moved the address of the 16th April, 1782, which was carried without opposition. See page 59.]

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE ENGLISH AND IRISH PARLIAMENTS.

ENGLISH.—9th April, 1782.

MR. SECRETARY FOX acquainted the House, that he had a message from his Majesty; and he presented the same to the House, and it was read by Mr. Speaker (all the members of the House being uncovered), and is as followeth:—

GEORGE R.

His Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*—That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious Message; and to assure his Majesty, that this House, feeling with his Majesty the deepest concern that discontents and jealousies should have arisen among his Majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland, will, without delay, take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a

final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

Ordered, That the said Address be presented to his Majesty by such members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

IRISH.—16th April, 1782.

The Right Hon. Mr. Secretary of State informed the House, that he was commanded by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant to deliver a message to the House from his Grace, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, and the same was read, and is as follows:

PORTLAND.

I have it in command from his Majesty to inform this House, that his Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects of this country upon matters of great weight and importance, his Majesty recommends it to this House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

Ordered, That his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's message be entered in the Journals of this House.

A motion was made, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message to this House, signified by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant; that in obedience to his Majesty's most gracious recommen-

dation, this House will, without delay, take into their most serious consideration the dissensions and jealousies which have arisen in this kingdom, the cause whereof they will investigate with all convenient dispatch, and humbly submit to his Majesty's royal justice and wisdom.

An amendment was made to the said motion; and the Resolution, so amended, is as follows:—

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious Message to this House, signified by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to assure his Majesty of our unshaken attachment to his Majesty's person and government; and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to his Majesty's subjects of Ireland: That, thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majesty the causes of our discontent and jealousies; to assure his Majesty his subjects of Ireland are a free people: That the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof: That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever, in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland; to assure his Majesty, that we humbly conceive, that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists—a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do

claim as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield but with our lives : To assure his Majesty, that we have seen with concern, certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain, in an act intituled " An Act for the better securing the Dependancy of Ireland," an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation : That we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal causes of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom : To assure his Majesty, that his Majesty's Commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish that all bills which become law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his Majesty under the seal of Great Britain ; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy : To assure his Majesty, that an act, intituled " An Act for the better Accommodation of his Majesty's Forces," being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom : That we have submitted these and the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress : That we have the greatest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a chief governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils, which we see, with satisfaction, his Majesty has adopted : That we have, moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride of

the British nation; and we beg leave to assure his Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation.

Another of the Lords, of the same nature.

IRISH.—22nd April, 1782.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State reported to the House, that his Grace the Lord Lieutenant had been attended with the Address of this House to his Majesty, and that thereupon his Grace was pleased to return the following answer:—

“I shall immediately transmit this dutiful and loyal Address to be laid before his Majesty.”

Ordered to be entered on the Journals.

ENGLISH.—1st May.

Mr. Secretary Fox presented to the House, by his Majesty's command,

Copy of the Message to the Houses of Lords and Commons in Ireland, from his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, delivered the 16th of April, 1782; and also Copy of a Resolution of the House of Lords in Ireland, *Mercurii*, 17 die Aprilis, 1782; and also Copy of a Resolution of the House of Commons in Ireland, *Martis*, 16^o die Aprilis, 1782; and the titles of the said copies were read.

The said copies were as followeth, viz.

Copy of the Message to the Houses of Lords and Commons in Ireland, from his Grace the Lord Lieutenant; delivered 16th April, 1782:

PORTLAND.

I have it in command from his Majesty to inform this House, that his Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects of this country, upon matters of great weight and importance, his Majesty recommends to this House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

ENGLISH.—17th May, 1782.

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration his Majesty's most gracious Message of the 9th day of April last, relative to the state of Ireland.—Ordered, that the several papers which were presented to the House by Mr. Secretary Fox upon the 1st day of this instant May, be referred to the said Committee. Then the House resolved itself into the said Committee.

Mr. Powys reported from the Committee, that they had come to several resolutions, which they had directed him to report, when the House will please to receive the same.

Ordered that the report be now received.

Mr. Powys accordingly reported from the said Committee the resolutions which the Committee had directed him to report to the House.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that an act made in the 6th year of the reign of king George the 1st, intituled, "An Act for better securing

the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," ought to be repealed.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms, that the connexion between them should be established by mutual consent upon a *solid, permanent basis*.

The said resolutions being severally read a second time, were, upon the question several put thereupon, agreed to by the House *nem. con.*

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a bill for repealing an act, made in the 6th year of the reign of his late Majesty George 1st, intituled "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain;" and that Mr. Secretary Fox, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Mr. Powys, and Lord John Cavendish, do prepare and bring in the same.

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to take such measures as his Majesty, in his royal wisdom, shall think most conducive to the establishing, by mutual consent, the connexion between this kingdom and the kingdom of Ireland, upon a solid and permanent basis.

Ordered, That the said Address be presented to his Majesty, by such members of this House as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

IRISH.—27th May, 1782.

Mr. Speaker reported, that the House had attended his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant, in the House of Peers, where his Grace was pleased to make a speech to both

Houses of Parliament; of which Mr. Speaker said, to prevent mistakes, he had obtained a copy, which he read to the House; and the same was afterwards read by the Clerk at the Table; and is as follows:—

My Lords and Gentlemen;—It gives me the utmost satisfaction, that the first time I have occasion to address you, I find myself enabled, by the magnanimity of the King, and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain, to assure you, that immediate attention has been paid to your representations; and that the British legislature have concurred in a resolution, to remove the *causes of your discontents and jealousies*, and are united in a desire to *gratify every wish expressed* in your late Address to the Throne.

“If any thing could add to the pleasure I feel in giving you these assurances, it is, that I can accompany them with my congratulations on the important and decisive victory gained by the fleets of his Majesty, over those of our common enemy in the West Indies, and on the signal advantage obtained by his Majesty’s arms in the island of Ceylon, and on the coast of Coromandel. By the papers which, in obedience to his Majesty’s commands, I have directed to be laid before you, you will receive the most convincing testimony of the cordial reception which *your representations have met with from the legislature of Great Britain*; but his Majesty, whose first and most anxious wish is, to exercise his royal prerogative in such a manner as may be most conducive to the welfare of all his faithful subjects, has further given it me in command, to assure you of his gracious disposition to give his royal assent to Acts, to prevent the suppression of Bills in the Privy Council of this kingdom, and the alteration of them any where; and to limit the duration of the Act for the better Regulation and Accommodation

of his Majesty's Forces in this kingdom to the term of two years.

“ These benevolent intentions of his Majesty, and the willingness of his Parliament of Great Britain, to second his gracious purposes, are unaccompanied by any stipulation or condition whatever. The good faith, the generosity, the honour of this Nation, afford them the surest pledge of a corresponding disposition, on your part, to promote and perpetuate the harmony, the stability, and the glory of the empire. On my own part, I entertain not the least doubt, but that the same spirit which urged you to share the freedom of Great Britain, will confirm you in your determination to share her fate also, standing and falling with the British nation.”

Ordered, That his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's speech be entered on the Journals of this House.

A motion was made, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to assure his Majesty of our unfeigned affection to his royal person and government: That we feel most sensibly the attention which our representations have received from the magnanimity of his Majesty, and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain: To assure his Majesty, that we conceive the resolution for an *unqualified, unconditional*, repeal of the 6th of George the First, to be a measure of consummate wisdom and justice, suitable to the dignity and eminence of both nations, exalting the character of both, and furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity: To assure his Majesty, that we are sensibly affected by his virtuous determination to accede to the wishes of his faithful people, and to exercise his royal prerogative in a manner most conducive to their welfare; and accordingly, we shall imme-

diately prepare bills to carry into execution the desires of his Majesty's people, and his own most benevolent purposes : That, gratified in those particulars, we do assure his Majesty, that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony ; and that of Great Britain, as she has approved of our firmness, so she may rely on our affection : That we remember and do repeat our determination to stand and fall with the British nation : That we perceive, with pleasure, the magnanimity of his Majesty, disclaim the little policy of making a bargain with his people, and feeling, with pride, the confidence he reposes in the good faith, generosity, and honour of the Irish nation, we answer with all humility, that his Majesty entertains a just sense of our character, common interest, perpetual connexion. The recent conduct of Great Britain, a native affection to the British name and nation, together with the constitution which we have recovered, and the high reputation which we possess, must ever decide the wishes, as well as the interest, of Ireland to perpetuate the harmony, stability, and glory of the empire. Accordingly, we assure his Majesty, that we learn, with singular satisfaction, the account of his brilliant successes in the East and West Indies, gratified at one and the same instant in our dearest wishes, the freedom of Ireland, and glory of Great Britain : That we cannot omit expressing our gratitude to his Majesty, for appointing the Duke of Portland to the government of this kingdom : That we are convinced his representations were faithful, vigorous, and beneficial : we are acquainted with his character, and relying on his upright and frugal administration, make no doubt that a free people, and uncorrupt parliament, will unite to give a constitutional chief governor decided support : That we have presumed to lay before his Majesty our

genuine sentiments on the change of our situation: his Majesty will receive them as the voluntary, unstipulated tribute of a free and grateful people.

ENGLISH.—19th June, 1782.

Mr. Secretary Fox presented to the House, according to order, a Bill for repealing an act made in the 6th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the 1st, intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the *Crown* of Great Britain." The same was received and read the first time.

Resolved, That the Bill be read a second time.

Ordered, The Bill be read a second time.

Ordered, That the order of the day, for the second reading of the Bill, for repealing an act, made in the 6th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the 1st, intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," be now read.

Read a second time.—Committed.

Resolved, That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Resolved, That this House will, to-morrow morning, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon the said Bill.

ENGLISH.—14th June.

An engrossed bill for repealing an act, made in the 6th year of his late Majesty King George the 1st, intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency

of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," was read the third time.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That the bill do pass; and that the title be, An act for repealing an act, made in the 6th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the 1st, intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain."

Ordered, That Mr. Secretary Fox do carry the Bill to the Lords, and desire their concurrence.

ENGLISH.—18th June.

A message from the Lords, by Mr. Montague and Mr. Leeds.

Mr. Speaker;—The Lords have passed a bill, intituled, "An Act to repeal an Act, made in the 6th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the 1st, intituled, 'An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain,'" to which the Lords desire the concurrence of this House; and then the messengers withdrew.

ENGLISH.—20th June.

Ordered, That the order of the day for the third reading of the engrossed bill from the Lords, intituled, &c. &c.

Said order being read accordingly, said Bill was read the third time.

Resolved the Bill do pass.

Ordered, That Mr. Orde do carry the Bill to the Lords, and acquaint them, that this House hath agreed to the same without any amendment.

ENGLISH.—*27th June.*

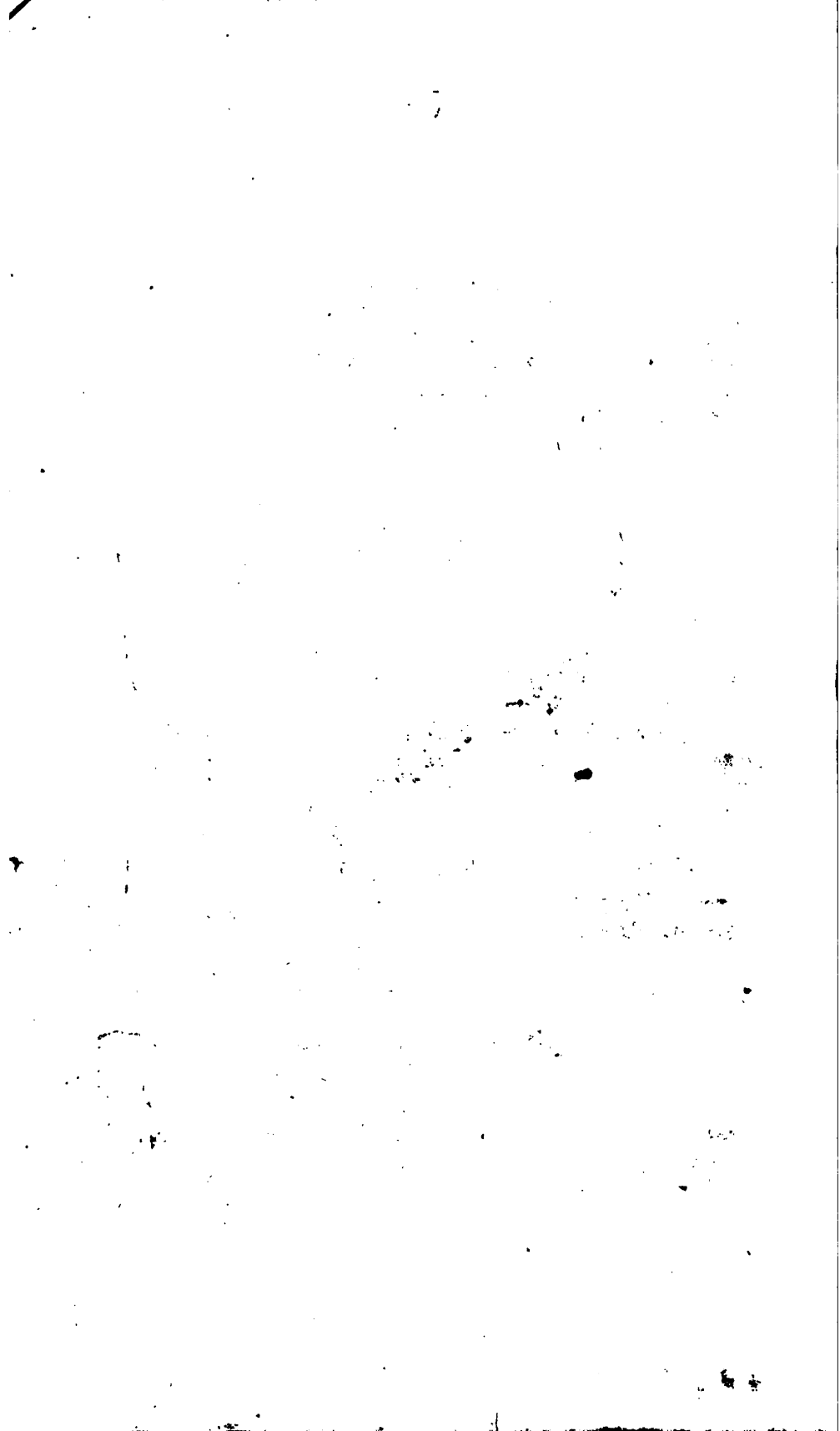
A message by Sir Francis Molyneux, Usher of the Black Rod :

Mr. Speaker;—The Lords, authorized by virtue of his Majesty's commission, for declaring his royal assent to an act agreed upon by both Houses, do desire the immediate attendance of this honourable House in the House of Peers, to hear the commission read. Accordingly Mr. Speaker, with the House, went up to the House of Peers; and being returned,

Mr. Speaker reported, that the House, at the desire of the Lords, authorized by virtue of his Majesty's commission afore-mentioned, had been at the House of Peers, where a commission under the Great Seal was read, giving, declaring, and notifying the royal assent to a public bill therein-mentioned; and also empowering the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, and several other Lords, to declare and notify the royal assent to the said Bill; and that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and the Lord Ashburton, named also in the commission, did accordingly declare and notify the royal assent to the said Bill, which Bill is as followeth, viz. "An Act to repeal an act, made in the 6th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the 1st, intituled, 'An Act for the better securing the Dependancy of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain.'" And all the parts therein contained.

THE END.

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